

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01

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SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-12 IO-13 AID-05 PC-01

HA-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08 /116 W

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FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7546

AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NDJAMENA 2593

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, CD

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR DISCUSSESS SECURITY SITUATION
WITH VICE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER

SUMMARY: IN PREPARING FOR CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON,
I HAVE HAD LENGHTY CONVERSATIONS WITH VICE PRESIDENT DJIME,
FOREIGN MINISTER KAMOUGUE, AND FRENCH AMBASSADOR
OVER CURRENT SITUATION IN CHAD. I INTEND TO SEE PRESIDENT
MALLOUM NEXT WEEK BEFORE MY DEPARTURE. HIGHLGHTS OF
FOREGOING TALKS WERE 1) PREOCCUPATION WITH POSSIBLE
LIBYAN MILITARY MOVES AGAINST CHAD, FOLLOWING KHARTOUM
OAU MEETING; 2) PROBABILITY OF RENEWAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH LIBYA
AND REBELS, BUT SKEPTICISM AS TO ANY CONCRETE RESULTS:
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3) DISCUSSION OF MEMBERSHIP, FORM AND TIMING OF REORGANIZATION
OF PRESENT CHADIAN GOVERNMENT: 4) RESTATEMENT OF CHADIAN DESIRE
FOR US MILITARY ASSISTANCE: AND 5) REQUEST FOR INCREASE IN
VOLUME OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE HAVING DIRECT
IMMEDIATE EFFECTS ON CHADIAN ECONOMY.

1. CHADIANS ARE OBSESSED WITH THE IDEA THAT LIBYA IS

ON THE VERGE OF INCREASING MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF FROLINAT REBELS. FRENCH AMBASSADOR SAYS THE SUBJECT IS ALSO OF REAL CONCERN TO HIS GOVERNMENT. HE AND I ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT NO SUCH ACTION IS PROBABLE UNTIL AFTER OAU MEETING IN KHARTOUM. MILITARY ACTIVITY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IS AT A VERY LOW LEVEL, AND THERE ARE NO PRESENT INDICATIONS OF A REBEL OFFENSIVE. HOWEVER, REBELS HAVE GREATLY REINFORCED THEIR POSITION AT SALAL AND HAVE RINGED IT WITH SAM 7'S.

2. FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND I DISCUSSED AT LENGTH POSSIBILITIES OF INCREASED LIBYAN MILITARY PARTICIPATION IN CHADIAN AFFAIRS. HE CONFIRMED THAT FRENCH SOURCES INDICATED LIBYAN GOVERNMENT WAS CONSIDERING LOAN OF PILOTS AND PLANES TO FROLINAT REBELS, AND THAT SOME SUCH OBSERVATION PLANES WERE ALREADY OPERATING IN NORTHERN CHAD. WHILE FRENCH DOUBT LIBYA WOULD LOAN COMBAT PLANES AND PILOTS, (FOR BOTH POLITICAL AND LOGISTICAL REASONS) THEY ARE SETTING UP RADAR AND ANTI AIRCRAFT DEFENSES AT NDJAMENA AIRPORT JUST IN CASE. IF LIBYAN COMBAT PLANES WERE INVOLVED IN FIGHTING, AMBASSADOR FEELS FRENCH WOULD USE THEIR OWN PLANES TO BOMB NORTHERN AIR STRIPS. HE SAID THAT FRENCH HAD MADE CLEAR TO JALLOUDD THAT THEY WOULD MAINTAIN THEIR PURELY DEFENSIVE POSTURE IN THE SOUTH ONLY AS LONG AS REBELS DID THE SAME IN THE NORTH.

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3. FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND I AGREE THAT DIRECT LIBYAN INTERVENTION SEEMS FAR FETCHED, AND YET BOTH OF US HAVE A GNAWING DOUBT QADHAFI MAY NOT BE USING THE SAME RULES OF LOGIC. HE MAY WELL FEEL FRUSTRATED BY RECENT REBEL DEFEATS AND PROSPECTS FOR A REORGANIZED CHADIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD STILL EXCLUDE HIS ALLIES. IN ADDITION HIS SHINING ANTI IMPERIALISM ARMOR WOULD BE TARNISHED IF THE PRESENCE OF A FEW FRENCH TROOPS WERE TO CHANGE THE NATURE OF A SITUATION THAT HAD BEEN GOING VERY MUCH IN HIS FAVOR. FOR A DOZEN AIRPLANES AND 2,000 MEN TO THWART THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE MAY SIMPLY NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO HIM. ALSO QADHAFI IS REALIST ENOUGH TO UNDERSTAND THAT BLOODY ENGAGEMENT, IN WHICH FRENCH SUFFERED APPRECIABLE LOSSES, WOULD PUT THE FRENCH PRESIDENT IN A DIFFICULT POLITICAL POSITION AND MIGHT WEAKEN HIS RESOLVE. POSSIBILITY ALSO EXISTS, THAT PRESENT MILITARY THREAT IS MERELY A GESTURE TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON MALLOUM AT NEGOTIATING TABLE.

4. CHADIANS TAKE A MORE DIRECT APPROACH TO QUESTION, THEY SAY THAT QADHAFI HAS EVERY INTENTION OF QUOTE CONQUERING UNQUOTE CHAD, AND HE WILL NOT BE DETERRED BY PUBLIC OPINION OR NORMAL RULES OF COMITY, THEY

EXPECT HIM TO CONTINUE HIS QUOTE PEACE MAKER UNQUOTE ROLE
UNTIL AFTER THE OAU MEETING AT KHARTOUM AND THEN
TO RESUME HIS QUOTE CRUSADER UNQUOTE ROLE.

5. IN THE NEGOTIATION FORUM, THE CHADIANS HAVE AGREED
TO TRIPOLI AS THE LOCATION OF RENEWED
NEGOTIATIONS, AND
SUDANESE AND NIGERIANS ARE APPARENTLY TRYING TO GET
ANOTHER MEETING SCHEDULED OF SEBHA GROUPING (LIBYA,
CHAD, SUDAN, NIGER AND FROLINAT REBELS). NO ONE IS
SANGUINE ABOUT POSSIBLE RESULTS OF SUCH A MEETING, BUT
CHADIANS BELIEVE IT IS WORTH A TRY IF ONLY TO SHOW THEIR
WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE.

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6. VICE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER ASSURED ME THAT
TALKS REGARDING THE REORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT WERE
CONTINUING, AND SOME FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT COULD BE
EXPECTED IN JULY. FRENCH AMBASSADOR WAS MORE SPECIFIC,
AND SAID PRES MALLOUM HAD INFORMED SUPREME MILITARY
COUNCIL THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO BE DISSOLVED AND REPLACED
BY A NEW PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. LATTER WOULD STILL

CONTAIN SOME MILITARY MEMBERS, BUT WOULD HAVE A MORE CIVILIAN MOSLEM CAST THAT THE PRESENT GROUPING. AMBASSADOR SAID POSITION IN NEW GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN OFFERED TO FORMER REBEL LEADERS HISSAN HABRE, AWAD, AND MOUSSA, AND TO FORMER TOMBALBAYE MINISTER LAMANA. WHICH SMC MEMBERS MIGHT REMAIN IN GOVERNMENT IS STILL UNCLEAR, WITH THE FUTURE OF FOREIGN MINISTER KAMOUGE REMAINING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

7. BOTH VICE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT MY CONSULTATIONS MIGHT RESULT IN SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR CHAD. THEY BOTH MENTIONED SECRETARY'S ATLANTIC CITY ADDRESS, NATURALLY STRESSING THE STATEMENT OF QUOTE SUPPORT FOR LEGITIMATE AFRICAN DEFENSE NEEDS UNQUOTE. FOREIGN MINISTER PRESENTED A WELL PREPARED, DETAILED LINE OF ARGUMENT POINTING OUT:

A. CHAD WAS A REAL FRIEND OF THE US, AND ITS ACTION AT DAKAR AND HAVANA VOTING AGAINST THE OAU MAJORITY ON THE NEAR EAST AND KOREAN ISSUES PROVED IT.

B. CHAD HAD AN EXCELLENT RECORD IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE RECENT AMNESTY OF REBELS AND OPEN TRIALS OF FORMER TOMBALBAYE OFFICIALS DEMONSTRATE IT.

C. WHILE CHADS GOVERNMENT AT THE MOMENT IS MILITARY, IT HAD EVERY INTENTION OF RETURNING POWER TO THE PEOPLE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HE ADDED THAT POLICIES OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT WERE MODERATE AND TRULY NON ALIGNED.

D. CHAD IS A POOR COUNTRY, AND LACKS ITS OWN RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT. DESPITE THIS LACK THE GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN IT IS DEEPLY INTERESTED IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PEOPLE OF CHAD.

E. CHAD IS SUFFERING FROM BLATANT OUTSIDE AGGRESSION, AND THERE ARE INDICATIONS THIS WILL BECOME WORSE.

F. CHAD BELIEVES IT HAS LEGITIMATE DEFENSE NEEDS, AND TO THIS END HAS SOUGHT OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE.

8. I COMMITTED MYSELF ONLY TO PUTTING FORWARD CHADS CONFIDENTIAL

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CASE WHILE I WAS IN WASHINGTON, AND POINTED OUT THAT THE LEGISLATION RESTRICTION WE HAD EARLIER TALKED ABOUT WERE

STILL IN PLACE. BOTH VICE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER UNDERSTAND THIS POINT, BUT STRESSED THEY WERE FRIENDS WITH LEGITIMATE DEFENSE NEEDS AND HOPED WE COULD FIND SOME WAY TO BE OF ASSISTANCE.

9. FOREIGN MINISTER NOTING WESTS PUBLICIZED REACTION

OF MASSIVE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE, SAID THAT WHILE CHAD'S SCALE WAS DIFFERENT ITS PROBLEMS WERE SIMILAR AND HE HOPED OUR REACTION WOULD ALSO BE SIMILAR. HE POINTED OUT THAT IN ALL NEGOTIATIONS WITH REBEL LEADERS AIMED AT NATIONAL RECONCILIATION THEY ASKED FOR MORE ASSISTANCE FOR THE PEOPLE THEY REPRESENT. FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT AS CHAD LACKED THE RESOURCES IT WAS POINTLESS TO MAKE FALSE PROMISES OF SUCH AID, THAT ONLY IF MORE OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE WERE AVAILABLE COULD SUCH COMMITMENTS BE MADE AND KEPT. HE ADDED THAT IF PRESENT REBEL LEADERS RALLIED TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THEN FAILED TO PRODUCE MORE ASSISTANCE, THEY MERELY WOULD BE REPLACED BY NEW LEADERS. KAMOUGUE WENT ON TO POINT OUT THAT THE TYPE OF ASSISTANCE PROJECTS THE GOVERNMENT AND REBEL LEADERS HAD IN MIND WERE THOSE THAT COULD PRODUCE EMPLOYMENT, GROW CROPS, OR SHOW CONCRETE RESULTS. HE DID NOT DENIGRATE LONG TERM PROJECTS BUT POINTED OUT THEY WERE NOT WHAT CHAD NEEDED NOW.

10. COMMENT. ALL OF THE CONVERSATIONS SHARED THE COMMON PREMISE THAT THE SOVIETS, ACTING THROUGH LIBYA, WERE THE BASIS OF THE INCREASING GRAVITY OF CHADS PROBLEMS, AND THAT ASSISTANCE FROM THE WEST IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE IMMEDIATE RESPONSE. BRADFORD

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